

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

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We have come together today to commemorate a great German who once became a revolutionary out of inner protest against his intellectual and political environment, who had to bear the fate of being misunderstood for decades, and who is only now approaching his historical appreciation. This debate of ours today cannot be about showing in detail the development of all Friedrich

Nietzsche's thoughts, nor about examining what has emerged, as it were, from the manifold, rich effectiveness as a system of his thought, but rather about commemorating the man himself. We can do this today with all the more understanding in a general overview of his work, because Nietzsche's work is not so much about the construction and expansion of a philosophical edifice, but essentially always about the problem of the attitude of destiny. It was this attitude to the fate of the time that surrounded him that forced Nietzsche to take his path from the "Birth of Tragedy" to the "Untimely Meditations" to "Beyond Good and Evil" and to his ever-harder onslaught against the entire world of the 19th century. His personal experience is therefore more closely linked to his work than that of many other thinkers and designers; indeed, his work can hardly really be interpreted without this experience. The essential question of his life, which he once voiced: "Is today - greatness possible?", determined his entire thoughts and actions. It is unlikely that such a question ever became the fate of a thinker; for he, who searched for greatness, nobility and nobility of attitude and mind, and for the conditions of a hierarchy of existence that took these into account, saw around him precisely the decline of such possibilities and the increasingly clear emergence of everything that he felt and valued as the opposite of greatness and nobility. This question he posed to life and its negation by the environment of his time, this is the human-thought conflict of Friedrich Nietzsche and is at the same time the secret of his ruthlessly dissecting analysis and his prophecy of the conflicts of a future world, which grows out of the merciless realization of the situation. Nietzsche was the Prometheus of his time, whose torch illuminated even the darkest corners of the most guarded and yet so often mothballed traditions, but also a dangerous torch that threatened to set fire to many things that were still rightly guarded, serving as a bridge from the past to the future. Nietzsche was born into a time of tremendous enrichment of knowledge from the historical epochs of all folks. The 19th century was not only a century of technology, but also a century of the collection of historical knowledge of the 2 oldest nations and cultures, a century when all forms and styles of art were scientifically arranged before the contemplating eye, an age which he himself described as an

epoch of "style masquerades". The latest industrial buildings combined with historical and art-historical knowledge to create a confusing intellectual costume. The "European mixed man", however, needed such a costume, for the poorer he became inwardly, the more he believed he needed to drape himself with the borrowed and learned treasures of the past in order to cover up or conceal his ever-increasing emptiness. In the 19th century, the European nations rebuilt themselves in terms of power in the midst of this environment. It was only at this time that France was able to bring the storms of the revolution of the 18th century into viable form, Italy, after centuries of disunity, was united as one state, and Germany experienced a new foundation of the empire as the apparent fulfillment of a long-cherished dream of its best.

However, this national political upswing was combined with the problems of a new industrial age, which the liberal worldview was not able to really master. It taught freedom of the economy, freedom of trade, it lived in a spiritually limited optimism, as if the facilitation of traffic, the exchange of living goods with other continents, the increase in technical comforts etc. meant an eternal progress of culture and civilization, even if disturbed by many a military political conflict, but basically unstoppable. Art was regarded as relaxation or entertainment, people lived or tried to live the old styles, and only a few understood that this amalgamation of historical and art-historical knowledge did not yet mean creative power. The social tensions that arose were also seen as disturbing phenomena of "economic progress", but people closed their eyes to the fact that the industries were pushing millions and millions more down into a stratum that could call itself the proletariat. It was overlooked that such an oppressed, ever-growing stratum could become the victim of doctrines that incited it against everything that had once really founded folks, states and cultures. Dissolution, collapse, wars and revolutions loomed on the horizon. This same gaze then had to feel all the more lonely in this busy, short-sighted, yet presumptuous environment, as warnings and a helping new representation of form were not heard, or barely heard, but in any case not understood, and ultimately remained entirely without echo. To portray this development means to tell Nietzsche's life from the inside and to

make both his relationship to Germany, to history, to Europe, to religion and to the social question of his time understandable. He knew very well that he could not be fully heard, he also knew that he no longer belonged to the 19th century, and he called himself and the few he hoped for the "Europeans of the day after tomorrow", the "firstlings of the twentieth century". But this insight could not heal and forget the wounds that arose again and again when Nietzsche's analysis and remote view came up against his presence and when his calls remained unheard all his life. Like him, many had felt who hoped for the heroic Germany of 1871 and saw the Bleichröders, then the Ballins and comrades grow up in the shadow of this conquered empire. Some had spoken out who today we also classify as the prophets of our time, some had become close to Nietzsche, others had worked unknown to him: they did not become a jointly coalescing intellectual and political power. It was something that was missing in this age of busy commercial politics to lead great folks to the consciousness of themselves, namely great suffering. This is also why Nietzsche knew very well when he wrote:

"The discipline of suffering, of great suffering - do you not know that only this discipline has created all the elevations of man so far?"

Only such a common suffering increases the tension of the soul, only the sight of a great and universal destiny strengthens inventiveness and bravery in the struggle. Only such suffering can call people, i.e. a whole community that feels a suffering together, to great achievements. And this prerequisite for the realization of his prophecy in a contemplating folk had to be denied Friedrich Nietzsche. There are epochs in world history in which thinkers and statesmen, struggling in vain against their time, draw a new shape for the future and make it possible, without ever being able to participate in its fulfillment themselves. There are other thinkers and statesmen whose thought and action can be translated into a great political-revolutionary, ideological movement, where they, marching ahead as it were, also at the same time formative and politically leading, unite worldview and state policy. Nietzsche was one of the first and

thus had to savor the tragedy of such a fate to the full, because he did not resign himself to this fate with humor and composure, despite his desire to do so, but the less he was heard, the more vehemently he spoke, and the smaller the echo, the louder he called for an answering voice. Wilhelm Raabe, who also had to reject many things about the Germany of that time and his entire era that were dangerously heading towards a dark future, said thoughtfully:

"The German genius draws a third of its strength from the philistine."

This smiling and wise insight could not suffice for Nietzsche, who essentially did not see the sedate, quiet, industrious petty bourgeoisie before him, but found it long since overgrown by a capitalist bourgeoisie, and who saw this upper middle class developing into ever more exclusive wealth-conditioning positions on the one hand, and on the other hand the increasing disenfranchised of this whole age. The *"too-much as well as the nothing-possessors"* seemed to him to become *"dangerous beings"*. And yet this was precisely the environment through which Nietzsche would have had to pass in order to find a hearing even among the folk. This was the second tragedy of his life, that he, who wanted to touch the best sides of the Germanic essence in Germany, could not reach this essence, so that finally that layer of intellectual leadership, which could have created a bridge here, was so mentally dazed by trade and technology that it was not willing to give up this connection. Thus Nietzsche's circle became smaller and smaller, and only a few were finally able to understand his loneliness, if not share it. And this last loneliness was ultimately decisive in understanding much of the form of Nietzsche's attack against his time, including the exaggeration of this form. But it is this loneliness and power of vision at the same time that places Nietzsche today, beyond all the conditions of time and tradition, in the middle of the great events of this 20th century that he predicted, in the middle of the huge conflict that the German folk has to fight through today, but also in the midst of that process in which everything that Nietzsche inwardly fought against as impudent and base has united

against a Germany that, in overcoming all these depressing forces and phenomena of the 19th century, is preparing to enter the 20th century with a new idea, with a new spirit. It was a Germany which, in overcoming all these depressing forces and phenomena of the nineteenth century, set out to endow the twentieth century with a new idea, with a new attitude to life, with a truly large-scale German and European view of the world. In this large context, Nietzsche's position in German thought and in European existence particularly moves us today, in view of the clash of two worlds. I know how much these two problems of his life are fought over, and that it is not difficult to produce seemingly contradictory, even mutually exclusive quotations for them. But words alone, juxtaposed with each other, brought out of completely different moods and epochs, are only, seen in themselves, fleeting symbols, if the human being and his overall attitude have not been recognized in their essence. What can then be interpreted as struggle and rejection is often not the fight against an actual core, such as Germanness, but a bitter confrontation with the given appearance of the time, and much of what appears as hatred is essentially only wounded and disappointed love. Only when we have understood this will we be able to properly grasp Nietzsche's life - and not only Nietzsche's, but the lives of many a militant in Germany. I would just like to remind you of those beautiful words that were, as it were, the prelude to Friedrich Nietzsche's whole inner awakening, when he declared that he thought so much of the pure and strong core of the German being that he dared to expect from it the elimination of forcibly implanted foreign elements and that he considered it possible for the German spirit to return to itself.

"But let him never believe," Nietzsche added at the time, almost anticipating everything, "that he can fight similar battles without his household gods, without his mythical homeland, without a 'bringing back' of all things German!"

"Believe no one that the German spirit has lost its mythical 5 homeland for ever, when it still understands so clearly the birdcalls that tell of that homeland. One day he will find himself awake, in all the morning freshness of a tremendous sleep: then he

will slay dragons, destroy the treacherous dwarves and awaken Brünhilde - and Wotan's spear itself will not be able to hinder his path!"

Here a hope was expressed that literally went all out, that not only demanded a cleansing of all overgrowing foreign plants and their juices, but believing it to be expected, a true inner rebirth that led back to the last roots and longed for the supply of strength from them for a great future. From another side sounds the soldierly attitude in Nietzsche's thinking, to which he always attached particular importance. In 1870, he writes in a letter that he immediately applied for leave to do his duty as a soldier. In 1871 he writes of our army, which he found fresh and strong, in old Germanic health:

"We can build on this: we can hope again! Our German mission is not yet over! I am bolder than ever for not everything has yet perished under French-Jewish flattening and 'elegance' and under the greedy hustle and bustle of the 'present time'. There is bravery after all, and German bravery at that, which is something inwardly different from the élan of our unfortunate neighbours."

And he goes on to write to the same friend:

"Only as fighters do we still have a right to exist in our time, as pioneers of a coming saeculum, the formation of which we can roughly sense in ourselves, namely in our best hours: since these best hours obviously alienate us from the spirit of our time, but must nevertheless have a home somewhere; which is why I believe we have such a dull scent of the coming in these hours."

These and other passages express the inner will to reshape German thought and destiny that wants to express itself and expects an answer from the best souls of his time, but at the same time also the fearful foresight that his "present time" does not want such a renewal at all, but pleases itself in the superficiality of industrialized metropolitan life, even exhausts itself. Once again, Nietzsche refers to the father of a friend, whose wonderful German spirit, whose Prussian seriousness he admires, and from whom everything can be hoped for, "while I," he continues, "am now

highly dubious about the 'German culture' floating on top." When Nietzsche now emerges with his works and openly begins a central struggle against everything that is backward, hypocritical and musty, he notices that there are only a few around him who hear him, and that a following does not want to find itself in the midst of the superficial maelstrom of his time. In 1874, he then states that he is basically melancholic, and adds: 6 "I seek nothing more than a little freedom, a little real air of life, and resist, revolt against the many, unspeakably many unfree things that cling to me." His "great frontal assault on all kinds of current German obscurantism" earns him outright rejection, and when it finds no echo, he melancholically states again: "What concerns the Germans of today is none of my business - which, of course, is no reason for me to be angry with them." After that, his disappointment and his attacks continue to increase, and then from the year 1888 comes a final echo:

"I humbly suggest that the 'spirit', the so-called 'German spirit', has gone for a walk and lives somewhere in the summer resort - at any rate not in the 'Reich' - rather already in Sils Maria ..."

To search for the essence of this German spirit and its position in history, and thus also to examine the European spirit, which moved along similar paths to German thought, is the analytical course of investigation that Nietzsche now embarks on for his life. This penetration and evaluation of German-European intellectual development, however, is not conducted by him in the style of an indifferent erudition; rather, he declares from the outset that he has a loathing for any "talent without desire" and that where we would find such a thing: in the circle of scholars or even among the so-called educated, it must only evoke "repugnance and disgust" in us. On the contrary, he advocates an inward involvement in every investigation of everything human and, unlike many doctrinaires of his time, considers it necessary that the "Schopenhauerian man", i.e. the truly deeply inquiring man, be full of strong consuming fire at his core and far removed from the "cold and contemptuous neutrality of the so-called scientific man". This turn of phrase is the fiery force that moved Nietzsche

throughout his life; he has certainly been such a flame, as he says of himself, throughout his existence. In this investigation, he knew that the waters of religion had flooded back and left behind swamps and ponds; the nations were separating in the most hostile manner and were desiring to tear each other apart, and the sciences, pursued without any measure and in the most blindly permissive manner, were splintering and dissolving everything firmly believed; the educated classes and states, however, were being carried away by a "magnificently contemptible money economy". Never had the world been more worldly, never poorer in love and goodness as it was in his time, the learned classes were no longer lighthouses or asylums and were becoming daily more restless, thoughtless and loveless. Everything served the "coming barbarism", including the present art and science. The educated had degenerated into the greatest enemy of education, because he wanted to lie away the general illness, and thus he had to become an obstacle to every doctor. The truth, however, of which so much is preached in this liberal, loveless society, has become for so many a quite undemanding being, from which no disorder and out-of-order on the part of the ruling powers is to be feared any more. This "truth" of the liberal age is, according to Nietzsche, a comfortable and cozy creature which would assure all existing powers again and again that no one should have any trouble on their account. But a new inquisitional censorship, the unbreakable silence, would have spread against uncomfortable phenomena. And therefore it was clear that a certain darkness and dullness weighed on the best personalities of the time, an eternal frustration with the battle between pretense and honesty that was being fought in their bosoms, a restlessness in their confidence in themselves, and that was one of the reasons why they were completely incapable of being both guides and disciplinarians for others. Science, once so high in its onslaught against other ages, dethroned itself in many cases, the spirit of a - rootless - journalism invaded the universities and sometimes called itself philosophy. A smooth, skillful lecture comes to the lectern, Faust and Nathan the Wise on the lips, "the language and the views of our disgusting literary newspapers", he, on the other hand, is convinced: when one speaks of thinkers and philosophers, it is necessary for a philosopher to have an "indomitable and rough

masculinity". This, however, had declined in his age, and real men were seldom to be found. This whole current, leading more and more towards decline, was the condition for a Hölderlin and a Kleist to spoil by this inadequacy as well as by their own unusualness, not to have endured the climate of this so-called German education, and only "natures of ore, such as Beethoven, Goethe, Schopenhauer and Wagner, are able to withstand". But it was precisely such lonely people who needed love, who needed comrades before whom they could be open and simple, as they were before themselves, in whose presence the spasm of concealment and dissimulation would cease. If one took away these comrades, one would create a growing danger for the development of the German spirit. The most terrible antidote to unusual people is to drive them so deeply into oneself that their reemergence is always a volcanic eruption. And Nietzsche adds the shattering word:

"Yet there is always a demigod who endures to live in such terrible conditions, to live victoriously; and if you want to hear his lonely songs, listen to Beethoven's music."

"How," Nietzsche says in another passage, "is the great productive spirit to endure among a folk that is no longer sure of its unified inwardness and that falls apart into educated people with educated and seduced inwardness and uneducated people with inadequate inwardness. How can it bear it if the unity of the folk's feeling has been lost, if, moreover, it knows that the feeling of precisely that part of the folk which calls itself the educated part of the folk and claims a right to the national artistic spirits is falsified and coloured? Perhaps he prefers to bury his treasure now because he feels disgust at being fastidiously patronised by a sect, while his heart is full of compassion for all."

Today, the instinct of the folk no longer accommodates such a man; it is unnecessary for him to spread his arms longingly towards them. The only thing left for him to do now would be to turn his enthusiastic hatred against that inhibiting ban, against the barriers erected in the so-called education of his folk, in order

to judge at least that which for him, the living and life-producing, was destruction and degradation:

"...so he exchanges the deep insight of his destiny for the divine pleasure of the creator and helper, and ends up as a lonely thinker, an overshadowed sage."

What Nietzsche has in mind with all these insights and attacks, he feels in himself as "holy coercion". He says to himself: "Here help must be given, that higher unity in the nature and soul of a folk must be restored, that rift between the inside and the outside must disappear again under the hammer blows of adversity."

And Nietzsche says about the goal towards which this reconciliation should lead, to form the lost whole again:

"So let my testimony stand here expressly that it is German unity in that highest sense which we strive for and strive for more hotly than political reunification, the unity of the German spirit and life after the annihilation of the opposition of form and content, of inwardness and convention."

Nietzsche justifies this whole attitude towards the German spirit, which is becoming ever more acute, by his observation of the liberal age, incapable of confronting the depressing value systems, which has now begun to overgrow the empire founded in a heroic war. He points to the growing giant danger and above all to the bio-political threat in the East and says:

"It will probably take not only Indian wars and entanglements in Asia to relieve Europe of its greatest danger, but internal upheavals, the breaking up of the Reich into small bodies, and above all the introduction of parliamentary nonsense..."

He says that he does not wish for this development, but that one must face it and muster the resolve to make Europe threatening, as it were, that is, to send a will to this Europe in order to give this part of the world a planning calculated for 9 millennia; for the long-spun comedy of its petty statehood and likewise its dynastic as well as democratic polyglotry must come to an end:

"The time for small politics is over: already the next century brings the struggle for earth-domination, the compulsion for big politics."

In view of this overall assessment, he once again hopes for a strict German heart, for the German form of scepticism, for a "Fridericism that has been raised to the spiritual level", and he states more than once that today, when in Europe the herd animal alone has come to honour and distribute honours, a completely different type of man must come to rule in order to turn this fate around. Thus begins a profound critique of the entire social structure, a critique of the Marxist movement, which at that time was already falsely called socialist, such as is inconceivable today in a more consistent and devastating manner. For him, Marxism is the tyranny of the lowest and stupidest, i.e. of the superficial, envious and three-quarter actors, taken to its logical conclusion by "modern ideas" and their latent anarchism. Nietzsche opposes above all the attempt to abolish the concept of property, because the abolition of this concept of property must breed a destructive struggle for existence; for man is against everything he possesses only temporarily, without precaution and sacrifice, he deals with it exploitatively, as a robber or as a dissolute profligate. And in the midst of this criticism there is already a hint of a way out:

"Keep open all channels of work to small fortunes, but prevent the effortless, sudden enrichment; withdraw from the hands of private individuals and private companies all branches of transport and trade which are favorable to the accumulation of large fortunes, that is to say, in particular, the money trade, and regard both the too-much and the nothing owners as dangerous creatures."

And consequently he adds:

"The exploitation of the worker, as is now understood, was a stupidity, a robbery at the expense of the future, a danger to human society."

Against the Marxist idea of class struggle, he cites the relationship between soldier and leader, which is still more

decent and better than the relationship between employer and employee at that time. About this age he writes:

"One wants to live and has to sell oneself, but one despises the one who takes advantage of this need and buys the worker."

Even then, Nietzsche thinks nothing of the national bourgeoisie and calls the two opposing parties - the socialist and the national - or whatever their names may be in the various countries of Europe: "worthy of each other", i.e. both unworthy. It is understandable that such thoughts, set down at first in reasoned, later in aphoristic attacking form, bursting into the complacency of the liberal world, were not heard, dismissed with smiles and not taken note of by the people of his time, even where he pointed out the whole hypocrisy of the Marxist programme of a paradise, a stateless and class words: *"struggle free ideal society with the prophetic Marxism requires the most abject prostration of all citizens before the unconditional state, as nothing like it has ever existed ."* This premonition of the Marxist dictatorship, which we see marching against us from Moscow as a mortal enemy, is thus clearly prophesied. It is connected with that force which Nietzsche described as particularly dangerous, with out us wanting to claim that he has now been able to survey the entire structure and psychology of this East in every detail. Nietzsche knows, however, that, in spite of all knowledge, the development which has now begun cannot be reversed in a short time, and therefore he predicts that from this mixture of liberalism, plutocracy and anarchy the great crisis of Germany and of the whole European continent must emerge. He is deeply convinced that this mishmash initiated by the entire liberal movement in whi ch he proclaims a tireless hatred of Rousseau as the intellectual originator of these currents most terrible all must one day lead Europe to the embracing conflicts, and perhaps then to harsh tyrannical phenomena. He means:

"The democratisation of Europe breeding tyrants is at the same time an involuntary event for the word understood in every sense, including the most spiritual. "

This clear recognition of the most extreme possibilities of development separates Nietzsche as a thinker and active, soldierly philosopher ever more clearly from all the movements of his time. The observation of the artistic confusion of styles and this clear recognition of the attitude-less present, uncritically inclined towards all kinds of contradictory traditions, then unite in him to form a critique of his entire age, the like of which is inconceivable in a sharper and more caustic way. As with every great phenomenon, one must not be confronted with the alternative of having to acknowledge everything or nothing on the part of his disciples. Rather, Nietzsche, who after decades of misunderstanding and misrecognition is now entering the epoch of his general national recognition, will have to bear the same fate as all other greats: what is time related, what can only be interpreted from his personal fate, but precisely because of this is not to be valued as unconditional, will be able to be forgotten, but all the more clearly the actual core and the relentlessly correct thrust of his thought will find its deep recognition and reverence in the midst of a superficial world. And with this, the essence of Friedrich Nietzsche's entire human tragedy has also become comprehensible. He once wrote to a friend:

"You know, no female voice has ever had a profound effect on me, although I have heard celebrities of all kinds. But I believe that there is a voice for me in the world: I am looking for it. Where is she?"

He sought this voice of understanding and friendship. He also made a number of friends, but little by little, with the ever sharper realization of an approaching spiritual and political destiny, his former companions also withdrew. The companions of his scholarly years sink into the bourgeois world. Richard Wagner also does not seem to want to take the path forward, and in this painful farewell, which is still borne by a distant admiration, the greatest inner crisis in Nietzsche's life comes to light when he declares that Wagner as an artist, to whom he now believes he must contrast spiritually, is also alienating those people in Germany

who are worth working for. It is precisely in relation to this that he once writes:

"My writings shall be so dark and incomprehensible! I thought that when one speaks of adversity, those who are in adversity will understand one. This is certainly true: but where are those who are 'in distress'?"

And later, faced with the realization of remaining without an echo, he exclaims:

"A thousand times better solitude! And if need be, perish alone!"

In the end, this is the attitude towards the world, the farewell to all the hopes of his youth, the full awareness of being lonely and, as long as he himself lived, never being heard. From this loneliness he then speaks of the dark hours when he did not know how to live, when a black despair seized him such as he had never experienced before. Nevertheless, he knows that he will neither be able to slip backwards, nor to the right, nor to the left, and that he no longer has a choice. It is this logic that keeps him going in the face of all this fate. It is true that his last writing betrayed the ordeal of this condition, and he adds a few sentences that we want to remember today as the human legacy of a great loner:

"One should not expect 'beautiful things' from me now: just as little should one expect a suffering and starving animal to tear its prey with grace. The lack for years of a really refreshing and healing human love, the absurd loneliness which it entails that almost every remnant of connection with people becomes only a cause of wounding: all this is of the worst and has only one right for itself, the right to be necessary."

With this last word, that support was pronounced which still carried Nietzsche through all the hardships and struggles of his life. He was aware that what he was saying was a word for the times to come " for some generation must begin the struggle in which a later one is to be victorious who, in the midst of this democratised, "so that there had to be someone spiritually the

19th century, was able to plant neglected world at the end of the flag of a new hope and a new faith in spite of everything. Many of the best suffered under the Gründerzeit and the materialised epoch. The word "Reichsverdrossenheit" (disenchantment with the Reich) that arose at that time was not only a surface manifestation of economic and social developments, but at the same time an inner disappointment of those hopes that had permeated everyone with the proclamation of the German Reich in Versailles. I do not need to mention the names of those who withdrew in bitterness and pain over the rise of the inferior in the stock exchange and Marxism, of the philistine in politics and society. But no one felt those vibrations of a subterranean, as deeply as Friedrich Nietzsche. Even if in some areas of threatening rumbling or the other of those prophets of our time may be particularly close to us, as an overall personality and as an unwavering discern of an entire epoch that was preparing to perish, Friedrich Nietzsche was probably the greatest phenomenon of the German European intellectual world of his day! And for one thing must be borne in mind in all his later confessions and criticisms: if he only suffered wounds in his utterances and therefore took up a fighting position against the direct perpetrators of these wounds, exactly the same would have happened if he had lived for a long time in France or England or another state. For everywhere the same phenomena of decline were at work, disintegrating old established traditions without thereby creating new bonds and raising new ideals. The whole world was paying homage to lower values. To make possible the reevaluation of these values of a decaying liberal humanity into an ideal of the noble, hard personality, greatness, that has essentially been Nietzsche's teaching, which runs through all his works. If in recent times particular emphasis has been placed on his "*will to power*", then this core has also been rightly singled out as that centre of resistance in character from which both the reasoned treatises and the ecstatic proclamations of and the harsh attacks of his last writings can be explained, "Zarathustra". At this point, however, we must protest against the attempts of our present view of existence as a commitment to peaceful existence as pushed by our enemies so as to military weaken us, for example, on the so well--mannered democratic society of the West, as an incarnation as the enemy of the

eternally "peace disturbing" Prussian militarism. Rather, what is being expressed here is a law of life. Every great achievement in the world wants to achieve significance, every great state idea wants to assert itself, every scientific discovery strives for general recognition, every great artistic deed seeks its audience and every thinker expects an intellectual echo and hopes for a following. Through all the phenomena of life there is the will to bring to bear in the outside world what creative power has penetrated to the outside world. Competition in all fields has always been the decisive fact of life, and it took all the hypocrisy of a democratic age to try to persuade the world that the entire pursuit of power, in a roundabout way, as the pirates of the stock exchange and high finance were striving to do, was a beneficial activity for peace. In truth, there have never been institutions of power that have acted as hyenas of life as the heartless capitalists of the international stock exchange, never such a chloroforming of whole folk as has happened through an all powerful assault on the great Jewish press, and never more insidiously has a culture of a continent been prepared as after these influences by the Marxist dictatorship movement. That which Nietzsche prophesied, European anarchism, was on its way: November 1918 for Germany, the sinking into the bloody fog of a bestial civil war among many folk s. The dictate of Versailles was an infernal attempt to force a whole great folk into conditions from which they could expect only despair, anarchy and the splitting up of their existence. Similar dangers passed through all the other countries. To everyone's astonishment, however, that German spirit of which Nietzsche had spoken forebodingly and full of deep hope at the beginning of his work awoke: out of the darkness of betrayal, a new noble idea of life and a world view that reverently acknowledged the laws of this life emerged militantly into the daylight of time. This will to live was not content with looking and recognizing, but was connected with an instinct bound will from the roots of the German being and formed itself into a political power against all powers. When this appeared, already in world historical format, all those conspired against it who understood an example of nobility as an attack against their own immodest existence understood that with the appearance of a true to , who life aristocratic ideal which nevertheless formed a

national community, there was a danger for the large profits of the money kings and their henchmen: the second declaration of war against a new Europe plunged it into a second world war. The powers that are now wrestling with each other have therefore not arisen anew; they are preformed by the liberal movements of the 19th century, by the over technification of a new age, by the unrestrained rule of money and gold, by the monopolization of the whole news system in Europe by hands foreign to the race. The European citizens of culture, who have grown tired in the lulling of their powers of resistance, are now being flooded by a destructive passion from the East which, in a strange combination with Jewish Western Marxism, has shaken not only Germany but the whole European continent to its foundations. If we proudly declare that National Socialist Germany is still defending this old Europe alone, if we can say, 13th the 19th century, but even perhaps in a somewhat different sense like Nietzsche in more profoundly, that we are the " good Europeans " today, then that is a historically honestly won right. At the same time, however, we want to explain with all modesty, so as not to lapse into the kind of foolishness Nietzsche rightly castigated, that many phenomena of the old age are still perceptible in our country, that many philistines still spread the stuffy atmosphere Nietzsche suffered so much from, that some small scale schematic thinking has not yet achieved the freedom Nietzsche dreamed of and we ourselves dream of, that some are in danger of walking around as philistines instead of being Faust. But despite this realization, we still feel the great pull of a new age in our experience and know that what has carried us and gives the German nation today the inner will for indomitable resistance is also founded in that deep shaking of the lonely Nietzsche, which carried him through a painful life, which in solitude often led to despair and accusations, but which was always driven forward at the same time by the absolute necessity of such a debate with the future. In a truly historical sense, the National Socialist movement as a whole stands today before the rest of the world as Nietzsche as an individual once stood before the forces of his time. The struggle of two principles is repeated in a monstrous experiment of nature and life. The effectiveness of the whole world of despised money men and their mercenaries, the passion of millions of envious Bolsheviks whipped up by hatred,

the rage underworld, all this laden work of decomposition of the Jewish mind to be washed away from the heart of Europe by a mighty cleansing wave shortly before the apparently achieved goal. Now the floods of men and material of these powers are rushing against this awakening heart of our continent, against a doctrine and attitude of destiny which tests every slogan of intellectual struggle and politics for its true values, i.e. finds a freedom really worth defending only when it is borne by a sense of honor, which is able to welcome a liberality only so far as it can be combined with a genteel attitude, i.e. with rejection of the weak breeding of the inferior and alien to the community, finally welcomes a social justice which embraces all parts of a national community and, in the larger sense, of a pan-European community of peoples, which, over and above the recognition and assertion of the justified needs of a single folk, raises this call also for a whole continent, in order to make the causes of the incitement of the millions against the German Reich and Europe disappear. But if at that time, many, many decades ago, a few lonely people could only see the coming anarchy and its wars prophetically and finally broke down because of the impossibility of being heard, today the National Socialist Greater German Reich stands as a block of will of 90 million in the midst of this tremendous struggle, also in the full consciousness of serving here the necessity of a great so called humanitarian life, the necessity of a European destiny. If today the so democracies welcome Bolshevism in their midst as belonging to them, even granting it the right to call itself democratic, then they have stamped themselves with the stamp of baseness. Those who call this destructive rage against all the finer goods of the past and against a newly emerging, formative will related to themselves have ceased to be Europeans in their leadership. Thus we National Socialists today see the work of those powers which, coming over from the past, began to become a dangerous force of decomposition in the 19th century and today, in a great, festering process, are leading to the most terrible disease of European being, and at the same time, in the midst of this ominous stream, we see some prophets raising their voices demanding that these anti creative values be broken in order to help realize a new hierarchy of life. Among them, we honor the lonely Friedrich Nietzsche today. After stripping away all that is

time conditioned and all too human, this figure stands beside us spiritually today, and we salute him across the ages as a near relative, as a spiritual brother in the struggle for the rebirth of a great German spirituality, for the shaping of a generous and spacious thinking and as the herald of a European unity, as a necessity for the creative life of our old continent, which is today rejuvenating itself in a great revolution.



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